

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 FEA-01 ERDA-05 AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00

DODE-00 EA-06 EUR-12 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01

PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15 SAJ-01 NRC-05 OMB-01 SAM-01

TRSE-00 BIB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /121 W
----- 064419

O R 252101Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3203

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THEHAGUE

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY ROKYO

USMISSION USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

ERDA GERMANTOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3858

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: NPT REVCON: REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE ON TEXT BAN (ARTICLE VI)

REFS: (A) GENEVA 3196; (B) GENEVA 3408; (C) GENEVA 3695;
(D) GENEVA 3776

1. AT THE CLOSE OF THE THIRD WEEK OF THE NPT REVIEW

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CONFERENCE, IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT (A) NO FINAL

DECLARATION OF THE CONFERENCE COULD BE ADOPTED WHICH DID NOT TAKE ACCOUNT IN SOME MEASURED WAY OF THE EXPRESS CONCERNS OF MANY PARTIES ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE VI OF THE TREATY (SEE FOOTNOTE) AND FULFILLMENT OF THE PURPOSES OF THE PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH OF THE TREATY RELATING TO TEXT BAN NEGOTIATIONS (SEE FOOTNOTE), AND (B) THE HANDLING OF THESE SUBJECTS IN THE TRIPARTITE US-UK-USSR DRAFT DECLARATION WITH WHICH WE STARTED THIS CONFERENCE (REF A) COULD NOT ACHIEVE CONSENSUS, AND, IF BROUGHT TO A VOTE, WOULD NOT BE APPROVED. (FOOTNOTE: IN ARTICLE VI THE PARTIES UNDERTOOK " TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH ON EFFECTIVE MEASURES RELATING TO CESSATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AT AN EARLY DATE, TO NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, AND ON A TREATY ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER STRICT AND EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL." THE PREAMBLE TO THE TREATY ALSO DECLARES THE INTENTION OF THE PARTIES " TO ACHIEVE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE THE CESSATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND TO UNDERTAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES IN THE DIRECTION OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT." A NUMBER OF PARTIES TAKE THE POSITION THAT THESE UNDERTAKINGS WERE THE QUID PRO QUO FOR THEIR UNDERTAKING TO FOREGO NUCLEAR WEAPONS ACQUISITION. THE TREATY'S PREAMBLE RECALLS "THE DETERMINATION OF THE PARTIES TO SEEK TO ACHIEVE THE DISCONTINUANCE OF ALL TEST EXPLOSIONS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR ALL TIME AND TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS TO THIS END." ARTICLE VIII OF THE TREATY REQUIRES THE REVIEW CONFERENCE TO REVIEW THE OPERATION OF THE TREATY "WITH A VIEW TO ASSURING THAT THE PURPOSES OF THE PREAMBLE AND THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY ARE BEING REALIZED.")

2. A FAILURE (WHICH IS AT LEAST A THEORETICAL POSSIBILITY) TO ACHIEVE ANY CONSENSUS ON A FINAL CONFERENCE OUTCOME SUPPORTIVE OF THE TREATY WOULD BE A MAJOR POLITICAL FAILURE WITH CONSEQUENT REPERCUSSIONS.

3. THE MOST EXTREME PROPOSALS ON ARTICLE VI AND TEST BAN ARE THE ADDITIONAL PROTOCOLS SPONSORED BY MEXICO WITH SOME 16 OTHER COUNTRIES (REF TEL B). WHILE IT WILL PROBABLY BE POSSIBLE TO DISPOSE OF THE PROTOCOLS THEMSELVES BY SUBSTITUTING

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A RESOLUTION POINTING OUT THAT THEY REPRESENT THE SERIOUS VIEWS OF THEIR COSPONSORS, WHO WISH SUCH VIEWS TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE THREE DEPOSITORY POWERS FOR CONSIDERATION AND WHATEVER ACTION THEY CONSIDER APPROPRIATE (SEE REF TEL C), THIS WILL NOT DISPENSE WITH THE REQUIREMENT, NOTED IN PARA 1 ABOVE, FOR AN ADEQUATE REFLECTION IN THE FINAL DECLARATION OF THE CONCERNS THAT LIE BEHIND THESE PROTOCOLS AND THE OTHER PROPOSALS ON THIS SUBJECT NOTED BELOW.

4. THE MOST MODERATE PROPOSAL FORMALLY INTRODUCED AT THE CONFERENCE ON THIS SUBJECT IS THE SOVIET BLOC PROPOSAL, SET FORTH IN REFTEL D (ASSUMING, AS WE DO, THAT THE LAST TWO PARAS. THEREOF ON REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS AND CONVENING OF A WDC CAN BE ELIMINATED). BUT ON TEST BAN, EVEN THIS PROPOSAL (WHICH WAS BASED ON A DRAFT PREPARED BY A LARGE GROUP OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AND OTHER FREE WORLD COUNTRIES) URGES THE NWS TO UNDERTAKE "AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE" NEGOTIATIONS DIRECTED TOWARD THE CONCLUSION OF AN APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT FOR THIS PURPOSE. STATE 118335 INSTRUCTED US TO INDICATE THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE QUOTED PHRASE.

5. THE BELGIANS HAVE SAID THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO PROPOSE THE ADDITION TO THE WEO PROPOSAL OF THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE WITH RESPECT TO TTB, BUT A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS HAVE INDICATED THAT THIS MIGHT SIMPLY LEAD TO FURTHER DENIGRATION OF THAT TREATY: "(THE CONFERENCE) WELCOMES THE THRESHOLD TREATY SIGNED IN JULY 1974 BY TWO OF THE NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES PARTIES TO THE TREATY OF NONPROLIFERATION. IT LOOKS FORWARD TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE THRESHOLD TREATY. PENDING THE CONCLUSION OF A COMPLETE TEST BAN, IT URGES THE TWO PARTIES TO THIS THRESHOLD TREATY TO INCREASE THEIR EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE NUMBER AND THE SIZE OF UNDERGROUND TESTS. IT CALLS UPON THE TWO PARTIES TO CONCLUDE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE ARRANGEMENT PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY CONCERNING PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS."

6. THE OTHER PROPOSAL ON TEST BAN THAT HAS BEEN FORMALLY INTRODUCED IS A SWEDISH PROPOSAL, READING AS FOLLOWS: "THE CONFERENCE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY BANNING ALL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPON TEST EXPLOSIONS FOR ALL TIME IS AN IMPORTANT MEASURE TO HALT THE NUCLEAR ARMS
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RACE. CONSEQUENTLY, IT URGES THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES TO ENTER INTO IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS DIRECTED TOWARDS THE CONCLUSION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT. IT FURTHER CALLS ON THESE STATES, AS AN INTERIM MEASURE, TO ENTER INTO AN AGREEMENT

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 FEA-01 AF-06

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10

NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15

SAJ-01 NRC-05 OMB-01 SAM-01 TRSE-00 BIB-01 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 (ISO) W
----- 064667

O R 252101Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3204

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

ERDA GERMANTOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3858

TO HALT FOR A SPECIFIED TIME, ALL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR
WEAPON TESTS."

7. THE SUBSTANTIVE CONCERNS REFLECTED IN THE FOREGOING
PROPOSALS ARE BEING PUSHED BY A NUMBER OF HIGHLY VOCAL
ADVOCATES, INCLUDING SWEDEN, AUSTRALIA AND TO SOME EXTENT
CANADA AND SOME OTHER US ALLIES, AS WELL AS BY A GROUP OF
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES LED BY MEXICO. WHILE WE BELIEVE ALL
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WOULD GRETATLY PREFER TO AVOID A VOTE ON THE MATTER -- WHICH
WOULD BADLY SPLIT THE CONFERENCE AND DISSERVE THE GENERAL
OBJECTIVE OF CREATIGN A DOCUMENT THAT DEMONSTRATES THE
SOLIDARITY OF NPT PARTIES AND THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE
TREATY ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE -- THEY MIGHT WELL BE ABLE

TO OBTAIN A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY IF A VOTE WERE
TAKEN. THIS, IN TURN, MIGHT LEAD TO THE OVERALL IMPASSE
WE ARE TRYING TO AVOID.

8. ONE ELEMENT THAT IS COMMON TO ALL OF THE PROPOSALS ON
THIS SUBJECT MADE TO DATE IS THE DESIRE FOR IMMEDIATE
STEPS TO BE TAKEN ON THE TEST BAN ISSUE. THE SWEDISH
RESOLUTION URGES IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS ON A CTB. THE
SOVIET BLOC PROPOSAL URGES THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES TO
UNDERTAKE SUCH NEGOTIATIONS "AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE
DATE." THE DRAFT PROTOCOL ON THE SUBJECT CALLS
FOR AN UNDERTAKING TO SUSPEND TESTING FOR A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF
TIME AS SOON AS THE NUMBER OF PARTIES TO THE NPT HAS
REACHED 100. A PROPOSED PREAMBLE TO THE FINAL
DECLARATION REFERS TO A DUTY "TO STRIVE WITHOUT DELAY
FOR THE ADOPTION OF TANGIBLE AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES" TO
ATTAIN THE RECITED OBJECTIVES.

9. THE OPTIONS HERE APPEAR TO US TO BE (1) LANGUAGE
CALLING FOR CONCLUSION OF A CTB OR SUSPENSION OF TESTING
AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE, OR BY A GIVEN DATE, OR
UPON THE OCCURRENCE OF AN EVENT LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE
RELATIVELY SOON. (THIS OPTION IS OBVIOUSLY UNREALISTIC
AND UNACCEPTABLE); (2) LANGUAGE CALLING FOR NEGOTIATION
ON A CTB AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. (WE REALIZE THAT
THIS FORMULATION HAS SOME PROBLEMS, BUT BELIEVE THAT IT
DOES NOT COMMIT US TO A CTB NOR EVEN A DATE, AND THAT IT
CAN BE CONSTRUED TO MEAN THAT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE
IS WHEN MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS, IN FACT BECOME POSSIBLE);
(3) LANGUAGE URGING THE THREE DEPOSITARY STATES TO RESOLVE
THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THIS ISSUE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE
DATE IN ORDER TO FACILITATE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE PERMANENT
CESSATION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS. (THIS HAS THE
ADVANTAGE OF INCLUDING IMPLICIT RECOGNITION OF VERIFICATION
DIFFICULTIES, AND PLACES NO TIME DEMAND EVEN ON INITIATING
CTB NEGOTIATIONS); OR (4) LANGUAGE URGING CTB NEGOTIATIONS
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WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE TO TIMING. (THIS COULD WELL RESULT IN
AN IMPASSE ON A FINAL CONFERENCE DOCUMENT, WITH THE POSSIBLE
CONSEQUENCES NOTED ABOVE). ACTION REQUESTED: DELEGATION
REQUESTS AUTHORITY TO SUPPORT APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE OF
THE TYPE INDICATED IN OPTION 3, AND AS FALLBACK
IF NECESSARY TO REACH CONSENSUS, OPTION 2.

10. AT LEAST TWO OF THE PROPOSALS DESCRIBED ABOVE
ARE AIMED AT A SUSPENSION, FOR A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF
TIME, OF TESTING BY THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION PENDING
CONCLUSION OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (IN AT LEAST SOME
PROPOSALS APPARENTLY MEANING A 5-POWER CTB). THIS IS

CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE AND WE WILL NOT ACQUIESCE IN ANY PROPOSAL TO THIS EFFECT. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, TWO OTHER OPTIONS FOR HANDLING THIS MATTER: (A) ACQUIESCE IN A DECLARATION THAT NOTES THAT SOME PARTIES HAVE EXPRESSED THIS VIEW; OR (B) INSIST THAT THE MATTER BE EXCLUDED FROM ANY CONSENSUS DOCUMENT, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT MAY BE TREATED IN A SEPARATE DOCUMENT THAT NOTES THAT SUCH PROPOSALS WERE MADE BY SOME DELEGATIONS. (LATTER PROCEDURE FOR HANDLING VIEWS ON WHICH CONSENSUS NOT REACHED HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BY CONFERENCE PRESIDENT IN GENERAL COMMITTEE.) IF THE FORM OF SUCH SEPARATE TREATMENT WERE UNSATISFACTORY, WE COULD THREATEN TO WITHHOLD OUR CONSENT FROM THE FINAL DECLARATION, PENDING A SUITABLE REFORMULATION. DELEGATION PLANS TO PURSUE SECOND OF THESE OPTIONS.

11. WITH A VIEW TO PRODUCING A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE FORMULATION ON ARTICLE VI THAT MIGHT BE INTRODUCED AT A LATER DATE TO AVOID AN IMPASSE, THE CANADIANS HAVE INFORMALLY DISCUSSED WITH US THE DRAFT TEXT SET FORTH IN SEPTEL. WE UNDERSTAND THEY PLAN TO SHOW IT TO OTHERS NOW, BUT TO HOLD IT IN RESERVE FOR USE IF NEEDED. WITHOUT COMMITMENT, DELEGATION PLANS TO CONTINUE WORKING WITH CANADIANS TO IMPROVE TEST BAN PARAGRAPH OF THAT TEXT FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, CONSISTENT WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE IN THIS TELEGRAM. OUR POSITION ON THIS FORMULATION, IF INTRODUCED WILL OF COURSE BE GOVERNED BY THE DECISIONS MADE ON THE OPTIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE.

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12. NOTE: SINCE THIS IS FINAL WEEK OF CONFERENCE, DECISIONS HERE WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY, MAY 28-29, AND THEREFORE RESPONSE HERETO IS URGENTLY NEEDED.
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Message Attributes

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Draft Date: 25 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
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Film Number: D750184-0203
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Review Exemptions: n/a
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Margaret P. Grafeld
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05 JUL 2006

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